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552 a new copper roasting pan in place of one that was no longer usable, they regarded it as my daughter, so to speak, and accordingly my sister, Kra'napą'n, transferred her name to it.

551 Nicknames, except for those bestowed by Neobrazilians and then sometimes used by the natives themselves, are rare and borne mostly by young lads and girls. Thus, one youth was called Pičanre, from Portuguese *pizano* (used to call tomcats) plus the diminutive ending; and the fat little wanton Muruwá was dubbed Tokĭ, from Portuguese *toquinho*, a small tree stump.

[177] All adult Rąmkõ'kamekra have been baptized by Catholic priests, some possibly more than once. They use exclusively these baptismal names in their intercourse with Neobrazilians, but very rarely among themselves—the women never, a considerable number of them having forgotten their Christian names.

No Timbira manifests any reluctance about uttering his name. Refusal to answer Neobrazilian queries on this point is due simply to the feeling that it is none of the interrogator's business or that he could not pronounce the name anyway.

ORPHANS; TREATMENT OF CHILDREN

736 855 If the mother dies, her child remains with her kinswomen, with whom it has been living since birth, though in contravention of the matrilocal principle a girl is occasionally brought up by her father's sister. The father's death does not materially affect the child's social status either, for the orphans' relatives treat them with as much amiability and benevolence as if they were their own offspring. Thanks to their matrilocal institutions the Rąmkõ'kamekra have no "poor, unfortunate orphans": a stepfather has no power to abuse them in a house that is not his, but theirs; and an "evil stepmother" simply has no close contacts with them.

All the Timbira treat their children with great patience and gentleness, never yelling at them, nor, so far as I have observed, ever beating them. Stubborn little children or those who bawl from sheer caprice—a thing of rare occurrence—are simply ignored by their parents and very soon stop.

PLAY

524 532 Little girls have relatively many toys. Their dolls are approximately cylindrical pieces of burity leafstalk, rarely of wood; they are of the length of a finger or span. They lack heads, face, and limbs, though female dolls are provided with wax breasts, a corded girdle, and sometimes corded sashes. The male dolls generally lack all decoration, being only rarely equipped with a forehead band and grass girdle. Both sexes are painted black and red or have falcon down glued on them. (See pl. 23, *i–k*.)

415 524 Practically all the domestic utensils of adults may serve as patterns for toys; one sees tiny gourd bowls and bottles, fire fans, baskets of all sorts, provender pouches, little sleeping mats and hammocks, manioc presses and strainers, carrying baskets, etc. Coiled basketry, which these Indians had completely abandoned as too complicated for practical use, was found exclusively as the technique for toy baskets at the time of my first visit. At my suggestion it was revived for utensils. [123] (See pls. 23, *h*, *l*, *m*; 24, *d–f*, *h*, *k*, *l*.)

857 In the bushes back of the dwellings little girls assemble in twos or threes to set up a dolls' household sheltered by little huts made of twigs and mats. Then they beg their mothers to glue falcon down on a doll couple so as to be able to get them married by laying the dolls together on a miniature sleeping mat.

Toys are the property of the child; to obtain them I had to get the child's consent.

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When about four to eight years old the girls wear as festive decoration wooden bracelets, which are sometimes prettily carved.

Boys segregate themselves from girls at an early age. Their first and principal toy is a small bow, which differs from the adults' weapon in having a round cross section (pl. 24, *a*). The first arrows are little rods made from the ribs of palm leaflets (pl. 24, *b*). As the lads grow older, bows and arrows gradually approach the ultimate form, the stave grows flatter, the arrows are feathered and pointed.

Among playthings there are toy guns for shooting maize kernels by means of an elastic strip of bamboo (pl. 23, *g*). Obviously borrowed from Neobrazilians, they share the name of firearms, katõkre (tõk, the report of a gun). Further, the boys have buzzers (pl. 24, *n*), humming tops with a string pulled through the hole in a little board (pl. 24, *i*), small palm-nut tops, miniature imitations of dance masks, animal figurines of wax (pl. 23, *a–f*), and grass figures like those of the Apinayé.[88] Trick carvings (pl. 24, *o*), games of patience (pl. 24, *m*), and cat's cradle serve for the amusement of bigger boys and girls.

THE BOYS' CLASS

At about six years of age the boys begin to have a sense of age-class solidarity, a fact that strongly affects their relations with their families. No one urges them to form such a company, which is joined quite spontaneously, by some of them earlier, by others later. This is a natural consequence of an environment surcharged with a socioceremonial spirit. As their model they take the youngest of the four official age classes, and whenever this group plays its part in a major ceremonial this has an obviously stimulating effect on the minors.

I first observed this in 1930 at the second ketúaye of the subsequent põhĵtíkama class. About fifteen boys (from among twice that number), mostly six to eight years old united as an unofficial class. *On their own request* the council appointed an instructor, mekapónkate, for them; and he taught them to plait, shoot, sing and dance, explained the ceremonial, and enjoined upon them to be honest and comradely. They went jointly to bathe and hunt, arranged races and log races—in short, prepared in every respect for their future status as a recognized class. The elders even gave them a class name—Pądntųktíkama (pądntųkti, black arara). Three years later the põhĵtíkama completed their cycle of initiation and precipitated a shift of age classes in the plaza; and the minors were then admitted as the junior eastern class, mepantúa, to the northeast station there, acquiring the name Kra'tãkama. As already stated, they began racing against the western mepantúa, a group on the average ten years older. In the following year, when subjected to their first ketúaye, they had their organization completed.

On my return in 1935 I found a new boys' class in process of formation. In 1936 I saw them nicely imitating the adults' erection of a hadre mast at the opening of the vų'tę' period. A group of hunters comprising members of both age-class moieties had prepared a mast 6 m. high outside the village. Having wound foliage round it and tied on the sliced game, they carried it into the village at a trot. Ahead of them a man came dashing and uttering piercing yells; in the center of the plaza he dug a hole for the post. At once the women came rushing up from all directions. The hunters planted the pole in the pit and held it erect, but pretended to let it drop now in one direction, now in the other, which naturally made the women run thither. At last the men laid down the mast, and the women stripped it pell-mell while one of the Clowns at the last moment tried to drag it away. Hardly was this

[88] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 108 f.

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moieties ranged themselves in two facing lines from north to south. Thus they went singing, first to the west, then to the east, and finally again westward, whereupon they broke up. Cą're handed the lance to Nyõhí, who painted himself red, then sang and danced all morning and part of the afternoon with the lance on all the radial paths from the plaza to the houses and back (cf. the solo dance, p. 139).

The second occasion was the award of a lance in 1936, at the close of tepyarkwá, to the leader of the Clowns "because he had proved nimble and merry, was a good singer, and did everything as ordered by the elders. The arara tail feathers that decorated this lance—nowadays one of the greatest valuables in this tribe—had a long previous history. At the ketúaye of 1934 they had served to adorn the mankyẽ'tis' occiputs. After the terminal ceremony the councilors had a hąkyará decoration made thereof, an article that goes round the forehead, falling down the back. This they awarded to one Haką', whose rapid intelligence and ability as precentor during the initiation festival had aroused their approbation. (See pl. 28, *a*.) For two years he danced and sang with this decoration, then made a present of it to the Fish Otters at tepyarkwá (p. 229), and they made it into feathers for the nape of the neck. After the close of this festival the councilors had a ceremonial lance decorated with this ornament and for the reason given above bestowed the emblem on Pačét, leader of the Clowns.

Another sham fight took place during preparations for the above-mentioned big ricochet shooting after tepyarkwá. The council had sent the junior of the two eastern age classes to the Serro do Alpercatas in order to fetch a great quantity of the arrow cane that grows there. On their return three days later they camped at some distance from the village, each making half a dozen arrows for himself. The next morning they marched to the village, where the junior western class, armed with throwing sticks, was expecting them in the plaza. The easterners distributed their membership over three radial paths. Suddenly the two parties shouted and rushed toward each other till they were about fifty meters apart. The westerners began hurling their sticks, while their opponents discharged arrows with blunt heads. Nevertheless a westerner was wounded in one foot.

Wrestling.—Pohl describes a wrestling scene connected with a declaration of war (see below). Kissenberth says the extinct Kénkateye-Canella were passionately devoted to this sport, but Snethlage recognized its subordinate role among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, where he saw only youths engaged in wrestling.[99] I witnessed such contests only on the part of the novices graduating from pepyé, after their seclusion proper was ended, when they were camped in the woods near the village; and here, too, it was a matter of mere play.

The following tale was heard.

Down by the brook, but in a little frequented spot somewhat above the general water supply, there were seated a dozen young girls and women. By chance one Kenkré, a lad of eighteen or nineteen, happened to walk along and was about to pass by, for it is not advisable to intrude on a bevy of lasses when they want to be by themselves. But they barred his path, saying, "You have the reputation of being a strong lad, Kenkré; well, then wrestle with us." He did so, throwing one after another, but after a dozen of these combats he grew tired and began to lose. However, the girls continued to challenge him till he was utterly exhausted. Then they chased him away.

Girl wrestlers seem to have a noteworthy knack of flattening an opponent's backbone with a jab.

Stilts.—Contrary to Apinayé usage,[100] only the boys of this tribe walk on stilts

[99] Pohl, Reise, 2:206. Kissenberth, Araguaya-Reise, 41. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 183.

[100] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 117.

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and they only rarely. The stilts are of burity leaf-stems and stepped so that the feet are at most 40 cm. above the ground. The part above the footrest is tied to the outside of the lower leg.

Cat's cradle.—Both young girls and young men make string figures, but those really conversant with cat's cradle are relatively few in number. I noticed ten distinct figures.

Dances.—The dances described above (p. 114 ff.) are the only social games of these Indians.

War and Peace

Relations with outsiders.—The Eastern Timbira are not nearly so amiable and peaceable toward outsiders as are the Apinayé. The highest goal of their social organization seems to have been to preclude any breach of internal peace, so that intratribally theft is rare and murder almost unknown; but in former times such conduct was apparently permitted toward aliens—a probable correlate of their greater or lesser hostility toward virtually all neighboring tribes. Traces of this ancient attitude may occasionally be observed even today with reference to Neobrazilian neighbors, especially among the Krīkatí and Pụkóbye. On the other hand, the mutual relations of the several tribes, though still far removed from a sense of national solidarity, have unquestionably improved. The point is simply that the native tribes no longer inspire one another with fear, while the latent animosity between Indians and Neobrazilians has remained uniform during the last hundred years or so.

At all events the Krahõ′ until 1809, the Rąmkõ′kamekra until 1814, the Krīkatí and Pụkóbye for about two decades after that, were all living in incessant feuds with both aboriginal and Neobrazilian neighbors.

> Por qualquer ciume sobre limites de terras, sobre as caças, ou sobre os fructos de uma arvore, tornando-se implacaveis inimigos, fazem-se carnagens tão horrorosas, que chegam a destruir-se inteiramente.
>
> (Through some jealousies over territorial boundaries, over hunting or the fruits of some tree, they become inexorable enemies and execute such horrible massacres as completely to destroy one another.)[m]

In the chapters dealing with conquest, colonization, and the history of the several tribes I have brought together details concerning these feuds (pp. 4 ff., 13 f.).

As for the Rąmkõ′kamekra specifically, their relations with neighboring groups were as follows:

The Guajajára to the northwest are recognized as ancient enemies, though details as to former wars were no longer ascertainable. Possibly this animosity failed to assume extreme forms because the Rąmkõ′kamekra had no hankering for the forested territory of the Guajajára. These in turn never ventured out into the steppes, dreading and abhorring the Rąmkõ′kamekra and indeed all the Timbira, who requited the sentiment with contempt. As late as 1901, during the Guajajára uprising, this opposition expressed itself in the readiness, not to say zeal, with which the Rąmkõ′kamekra and the Kre′pụ′mkateye marched against the insurgents. As previously noted, competition for the supply of arrow cane in the north at the Caxoeira da Canna Braba of the Mearim led to occasional feuds between the Rąmkõ′kamekra and the Krẽyé of Bacabal. According to Ribeiro, the Čą′kamekra to the northeast were bitter enemies until 1814, when they inflicted upon our tribe a defeat that drove it into the arms of the Neobrazilians. Later the two groups made peace and finally fused. The Gamella of Codó, farther northeastward, who were not

[m] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 9.

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Toward evening the two pigs were paid for in the usual fashion. The western age classes, with the pepyé, marched clockwise, the eastern classes contraclockwise, around the boulevard, receiving gifts from each one's maternal home as they passed by, these forming a contribution toward the indemnity. After completing the collection, they moved before the house of the owner of the pigs, depositing everything in one heap. Thereupon the pepyé and their racing allies, panting "like exhausted deer" and now and then stamping their feet, danced toward their plaza site, while the wakõ'kama indulged in all sorts of buffoonery outside their vụ'tẹ''s house. They played at "travelers' return": two lads, carrying baskets full of offal and rubbish, came pretending to bring back gifts from the government on returning from a begging trip to the capital. Formally received by the others, they unpacked their treasures, such as an old rag, a rusty tin can, etc., and amid general merriment distributed them among those present.

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Further races; naming of classes; discharge of girls and errand boys.—On the morning of July 22 the pepyé first of all danced in the plaza; later they ran another log race against the wakõ'kama, but were once more defeated.

After dark they again danced in front of the house of their vụ'tẹ. I came up, holding the ceremonial lance given me by the prõkama, and they complained bitterly of the small number of girls who had come to their performance, notwithstanding the recruiting by two members sent round about the village to summon them. They begged me to fetch the truants with my ceremonial lance, which I did.

The next day (July 23) the pepyé and wakõ'kama ran log races both in the morning and afternoon. In the interval and in the evening the pepyé danced before their vụ'tẹ''s house.

On the morning of July 24 the pepyé and wakõ'kama ran a relay race around the boulevard, then the former retired to the steppe, where for the first time since the opening of the festival they painted themselves with rubber latex and powdered charcoal. They also manufactured their third ornamental grass outfit, of which the typical part is a forehead cord with a long grass tail in the back of the head.

On their return from the steppe to the plaza, the pepyé as a now fully trained age class received from the council a new class name, viz., põhịtîkama (põhịti, big maize). At the same time there were changes of other class names: the pantụ'ktîkama (boys) were designated as kra'tã'kama (kra'tã, *Piaya* sp.); the wakõ'kama henceforth were called kapranpotîkama (kapranpoti, small water turtle); and the põhịtîkama changed their name to rópkama (rop, jaguar).

On the same afternoon the pepyé girls and the errand boys were discharged. The former took up positions on the boulevard about seventy meters in front of the novices (now põhịtîkama), who danced toward them in leaps and surrounded them. Then the girls advanced some distance, waiting to be reached by the dancers, and so they continued around the boulevard until they got to the western vụ'te''s house, whereupon the novices went to the plaza and danced with a precentor before the two girls. After this performance the girls went separately to their homes, as did the errand boys. The pepyé continued to dance around the boulevard to the piercing sounds of their ocarinas.

Thereafter the girls, officially discharged, no longer took part in the daily activities of their class, though reckoned as affiliates as long as they lived. They rank as hạmrén. During the following days the newly dubbed põhịtîkama and kapranpotîkama occupied themselves exclusively with dancing in the plaza and before their vụ'tẹ' girls' homes.

Hõkrowatụ̃'.—On July 27 considerable firewood was amassed from all direc-

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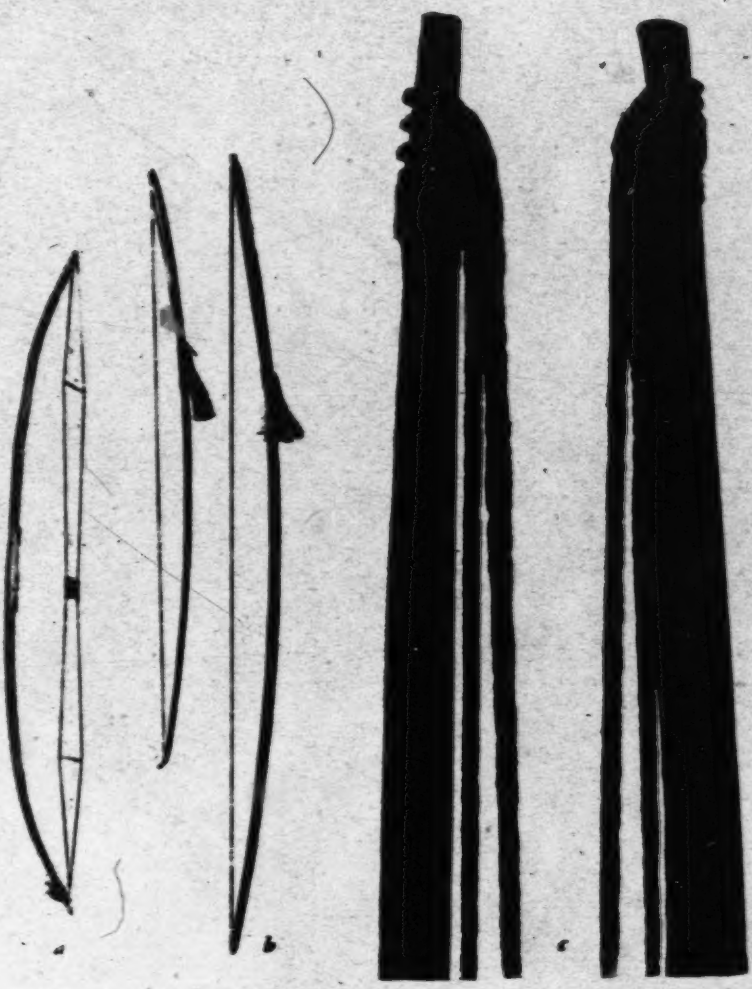

BOWS; BOWSTAVE

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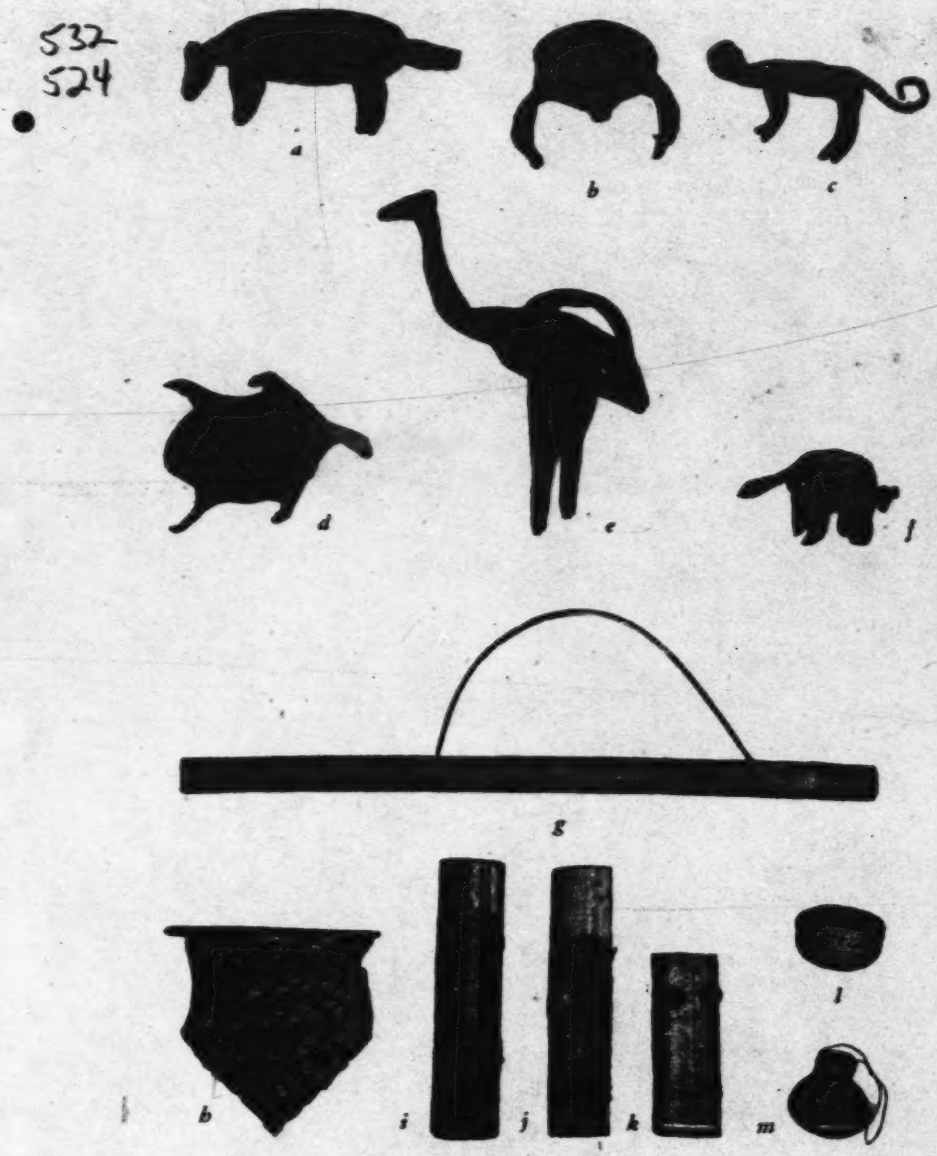

WAX FIGURES AND TOYS